/209/

273 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make
271 alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in
177 contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the
263 coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use
261 wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is re-
[764] lated to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the
183 young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity
● 591 in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the
184 Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We
591 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially
182 matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes
596 to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively
591 rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

/209 cont./

596 itself to an arrangement of this sort. In their seminomadic state
591 there do not seem to be any sufficiently decisive economic factors
[182] to require a unilocal residence rule, which in a way would hinder a young man, after his marriage, from remaining in the group of his family of orientation or from leaving in order to found his family of procreation matrilocally, according to the particular
591 circumstances. But what we are sure of is that the irregularities
596 observed are precisely a result of the economic and technologi-
177 cal changes which the Sanemá of the regions /210/ adjacent to
241 the Makiritare are undergoing via the process of acculturation. The cultivation of the land, although still rudimentary, and the possibility of augmenting their properties have brought about as a natural consequence, not only greater stability and possibly a considerable demographic increase, but also the impetus which disrupts the balanced equilibrium present in the custom of choosing the postnuptial residence which is fundamental for the bilocal extended family (cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 35). So it is that one of the factors which has most contributed to bringing about disequilibrium among the Sanemá was the adoption of the Caribe agricultural system. The postmatrimonial moving from one local group to another was not of any particular importance in a nomadic society, but nowadays it presents certain difficulties not even suspected previously, for a man now has to leave his cultivated fields if he is to go with his wife. We are sure that the tendencies in the direction of the unilocal custom have their
[601] roots precisely in this economic change. Finally, the existence of the bilocal extended family among the Yanoama is in complete accord with the Hawaiian type of social organization which we are describing as typical for this tribe.

594 Without knowing a Sanemá nuclear family intimately, it is
621 difficult to group with certainty the members of a local group solely on the basis of their family ties, particularly in a community in which polygamy, the sororate, the levirate, and a Hawaiian kinship system are practiced. There are occasions, however, on which the members of a nuclear family gather together: to eat, to sleep, etc., and, in spite of our not having full knowledge of Sanemá society, we can, with all this, say that the nuclear

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shirianá" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Sirionó*" with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacuran (27 mc), and Sirionan (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Sirionó*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanumá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subcribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their neaters (e.g. Caribe)[8]. Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[9]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanumá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 495-498.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 28.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

St Laurine et al. D, E-6 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 - Waica

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanoama could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Caura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hăwĭawan*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*sabli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*kăilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *sabli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hăwĭawan* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Samatari)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, stout, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barker, 1953, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 35.
11 Wilbert, 1961a.
12 Vinci, 1956, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1958.

/478 cont./

628 728 been killed, might require a greater number of years to be reconciled. Disputes which have reached the proportions of regional wars are rarely forgotten within the same generation, since there is hardly any neutral settlement left by means of which peace negotiations can be made.

The Family

591 606 A newly married couple may live in the settlement of the wife's parents or in that of the husband's parents. But if they decide to live in the settlement of the wife's parents, they cannot live in the same dwelling with them, because it is prohibited (taboo) for the husband to approach his mother-in-law. He can enter her house only when she is outside. He would not dare to come any closer to her than three or four meters. If the couple decides to live with the husband's parents, there are no such restrictions, since there is no prohibition against the daughter-in-law approaching her mother-in-law. Even suitors customarily lodge on the side opposite that of the house of their future mother-in-law, in their town.

595 [578] The majority of the men have but one wife. Those who wish to, and are able to, may have two or more wives. This practice makes more acute the shortage of marriageable women and may be one of the principal causes of the fights over wives which are started by men who have remained without any.

When a man has more than one wife, his wives may live in the same house or in several houses in a row. They work together, but each one has her own property. Frequently they are sisters since a man is more likely to marry the sister of his wife than to find another wife elsewhere.

593 Within the family it is the man who exercises authority. I only know of one case where the woman gives orders in the house, and this because her husband is mentally deficient.

613 621 602 562 584 736

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

532 584 593 621

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaBiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

583 591 584 602 721 628

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

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[128] [1]See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[601] [2]By FaBiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

628 lineages in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowë-tedi have
582 exchanged women with each other for a number of generations.
583 Male members of the Hor lineage entered into 29 marriage acts[1]
613 with women of the Sha lineage.[2] An identical number of acts involving Sha men with Hor women also took place. In the exchanges between Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi and their two allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, there is presently an imbalance in the exchange of women, although reciprocity appears to be developing; a number of women from the latter two villages are promised to members of Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi--to members of lineages that have already given women to the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi.

628 An imbalance in the exchange of women implies a dif-
613 ference in political strength between the two groups that
582 exchange women, and the mechanics of the exchange are shaped
583 by this difference in political strength. Post marital resi-
591 dence is viri-patrilocal after the groom performs bride service, but the length of the bride service is determined by the relative political strength of the two villages concerned. If the village of the groom is more powerful than that of the bride, the groom may be able to return to his village with his wife after just a few months of bride service. If the

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[1] See Ackerman, 1964, for a definition of marriage act.

[2] Yanomamö lineages are not named. I have named them for expediency of analysis after the oldest identifiable member of the lineage, abbreviating the name to three letters. "Sha" lineage, therefore, is the name I have adopted for the patrilineal descendents of a long since dead individual called Shamashiadima.

[128]

bride's village is stronger, the girl's parents may be able to press the groom into a prolonged bride service--five or six years. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, are politically stronger than the Reyabobŏwei-tedi, one of their Shamatari allies. They have obtained a number of women from this group, and the men involved all returned with their brides after brief periods of bride service. So far, not a single Bisaasi-tedi woman has gone to live in Reyabobŏwei-tedi, although one girl is married to a man from that village. The man has already spent several years in Bisaasi-tedi, and will probably spend at least as many more before being permitted to return home with his Bisaasi-tedi wife. The military and political superiority of the Bisaasi-tedi is so conspicuous in this alliance that one Bisaasi-tedi man literally dragged a woman, previously promised to him, out of the Reyabobŏwei-tedi village, against the wishes of both the woman and the woman's agnates. He was not prevented from doing this because the Reyabobŏwei-tedi need the political and military support of the Bisaasi-tedi and could not afford to react violently to the affront. Had the two villages been politically equal, the incident would have resulted in a war.

Women involved in exchanges between villages have no say whatsoever in their fate. Most of them abhor the possibility of moving to a strange village, largely because they fear that they will be mistreated by their husbands. Should a girl refuse to abide by the decision of her agnates, she has no alternative but to flee the village. Koima, a girl of

*628 Koima, a girl of
613
591
583 Karohi-tedi, an ally of the Bisaasi-tedi. Rerebawä had
606 already been given Koima's older sister, Shihotama, by whom
he had two children. Rerebawä wished to return to his own
village, as he had performed a lengthy bride service. His
parents-in-law, however, wanted him to remain in Bisaasi-tedi
permanently, as they had no sons to help them with the
gardening or to provide them with meat. Rerebawä began
making frequent trips to his own village. His wife's parents
feared that he might not return, so they kept his wife's
children in Bisaasi-tedi, knowing that she would return even
if her husband did not. This coercion was not working effec-
tively, and Rerebawä was growing impatient. His parents-in-
law, therefore, promised him Koima, their second daughter,
584 provided that he remain in Bisaasi-tedi. Koima, however,
583
591 refused to go to Rerebawä, suspecting that he would not keep
578 his promise to remain in Bisaasi-tedi. She preferred, instead,
135
613 Bäkotawä, her classificatory FaSiSo. She began an affair with
*624 Bäkotawä, making no attempt to be discreet. This infuriated
627 Rerebawä, who challenged Bäkotawä to a club fight. Bäkotawä
belonged to one of the important lineages in Bisaasi-tedi
and was cognatically related to the members of the headman's
[626] descent group, another important lineage. Public sentiment
was on Bäkotawä's side, but the girl belonged to a descent
group over whose affairs Bäkotawä's supporters had no claims.
Rerebawä's challenge was legitimate, for the girl was prom-
ised to him by her agnates: Bäkotawä was, in effect, having an

affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawë's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawë threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawë shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawë, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bëkotawë, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawë discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawë, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Uraricaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

628 581 607 Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their ability to promote solidarity between the allies to the obligations, duties and trading relationships that marriages impose on brothers-in-law.

607 602 621 591 Within villages, brothers-in-law have similar obligations to each other. The strength of the co-residential shoriwä ties, however, is influenced by other factors besides promises to exchange goods, women, and services. First, co-residence itself promotes a certain amount of amity between all classes of kin. Second, co-residential shoriwä are usually cognatically related because their respective agnatic groups have exchanged women in ascending generations, i.e., many of them are related to each other as MoBrSo or FaSiSo. So, in addition to mere promises to give women to each other, co-residential shoriwä ties are strengthened by ties of cognatic kinship and co-residence.

609 602 621 613 582 584 The strength of the ties between co-residential shoriwä is best illustrated by contrasting it to the weakness of the agnatic tie between two local descent groups of the same lineage. In anticipation of the discussion of agnatic relationship, I will point out here that the political interests of local descent groups focus on acquisition of women from other descent groups within the village. When a village has two or more agnatically related descent groups, the men in these respective groups are de facto rivals for the women in the village. Simultaneously, these distantly related agnates are frequently competitors in the disposition of some female agnates who do not belong unambiguously to one or the other local descent groups.

884 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

593 561 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yanomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him [583] in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi [595] obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

*621 602 • 591 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed *[628] as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be affectively closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other *621 613 602 591 [622] villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kaobawä of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one degree of blood removed from him[1] but they behave as if they were

[1] See Figure 3, "Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kaobawä's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadama, 22; Shararaiwä, 18). Whenever Kaobawä organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Nadesiwä, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kaobawä. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawä, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kaobawä's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kaobawä's nephew, Bäkotawä, 18 years old.

Kaobawä's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kaobawä to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

593 agnates of similar age tend to compete, rather than cooperate,
602
613 with each other in the affairs of the group. Each behaves in such a way that it is obvious to all that he is not being
*[621] bossed around by his equals. Finally, this competition and lack of solidarity is even more pronounced when there are two or more local descent groups of the same lineage within the village.

*621 Co-residence as a factor in promoting solidarity can
601 be illustrated by kinship usage. One of my female informants,
*628
• 591 Kaobawä's wife, used affinal terms for a number of Patanowä-
124 tedi men who were technically her agnates. I was certain that my genalogies were correct, so I re-investigated the usage. I discovered that she used 'distant' kinship terms for these 'brothers' because they lived in a different village, but that she had called them by brother terms when they lived together in Patanowä-tedi. She explained that she would again use brother terms if the two villages were to re-unite. Although the terms for agnates normally do not change when a distant agnate joins a local descent group, the co-efficient of solidarity does.

*628 The weakness of the tie between distantly related
602 agnates can also be demonstrated with data on fighting. After
613 the Patanowä-tedi separated from the Bisaasi-tedi and the
726 Monou-tedi in the early '40s, hostilities between the two groups developed. Each group, however, was similar in composition[1] in that each comprised local descent groups of the

[1] See Figure 3, Chapter IV, and Appendix A for the breakdown of the populations of these villages by lineage membership.

602 capable of becoming stronger in time. When two descent groups
602 exchange women with each other over several generations, the
613 cognatically related members of the two groups have strong
582 ties with each other. Further exchanges between these groups
583 is largely a validation of the previously existing implicit
60 obligations to exchange women. MoBrSo is, whether or not you
582 marry his sister, a shoriwë. When the marriage rule is followed,
and it is a number of times each generation, the ties between
shoriwë are correspondingly strengthened by the exchange.
602 Agnatic ties do not have the potential of increasing in soli-
darity; the tendency seems, in fact, to be just the opposite.

602 The major components in the variation of the strength
56 of agnatic solidarity are genealogical closeness, relative
621 age, and co-residence. To provide a crude measure of the
128 relative importance of these variables, I have arbitrarily
591 assigned values to the components in Table 3. A strong tie
is scored as "***" and a weak tie as "---". By adding the
number of asterisks in each possible combination,
a rough measure of relative solidarity of agnatic type is
given. For example, agnates who are closely related genea-
logically (A_1: "***"), who differ significantly in age
(B_2: "***") and who live in the same village (C_1: "**-") rep-
resent a class of agnates having the greatest relative
solidarity. The sum of the asterisks for this combination
is 8.

In Table 3, combinations whose scores are 3 and 4
respectively constitute the class of agnates having the least

Table 3: Components of Agnatic Solidarity.

Genealogical		Age		Residence	
close	remote	similar	discrep.	same	different
A_1	A_2	B_1	B_2	C_1	C_2
•••	•—	•—	•••	••—	•—

Possible Combinations	Associated Value
$A_2B_1C_2$	3
$A_2B_1C_1$	4
$A_1B_1C_2$; $A_2B_2C_2$	5
$A_1B_1C_1$; $A_2B_2C_1$	6
$A_1B_2C_1$	7
$A_1B_2C_1$	8

amount of relative solidarity and are the groups most likely to enter into conflicts with each other. The combinations whose scores are 5 and 6 respectively potentially have more solidarity in the agnatic class, but the agnates represented by these combinations are ambiguously related to each other regarding rights in women. The combinations whose scores are 7 and 8 respectively characterize the groups of agnates have the strongest ties.[1]

[1] It will be noted that the combination whose score is 7 involves the component of non-co-residence, i.e., that the agnates are in different villages. This is a possibility when, for example, a man goes to another village to obtain a wife. Such possibilities also occur when members of two different villages trace their origin back to a common group but went to separate villages to obtain spouses, or ended up in separate villages when their common group split.

602 661 *621 *628 It is not easy to represent affinal ties in this fashion, as there are too many factors that determine the strength of the relationship between such kin types. A few observations, however, will provide a contrast with the analysis given in Table 3 above. Among affines, age differential is relatively meaningless so far as internal village stability and strength of inter-village alliance is concerned. [606] When the age differential corresponds to a difference in genealogical level, the affines, such as son-in-law, tend to be related by stable roles based on avoidance, bride service obligations, etc., but these derive not from age differential, [606] but from the generation difference. A son-in-law is subordinate to a father-in-law despite his age, and inter-personal behavior between such kinsmen is not greatly influenced by [591] age differentials. Second, co-residence is largely irrelevent unless it reflects cognatic ties that came about through previous marriages in ascending generations. Again, current political relationships between the two villages of the affines is important in determining the strength of the tie, or whether the affine intends to return to his own village. *628 *621 602 583 Affinal ties do not necessarily imply previous historical relationships between the groups of the affines, whereas agnatic ties presume a common history. When members of two historically distinct villages enter into marriage alliances with each other, affinal ties between the respective villages are weaker than affinal ties between members of two villages that have a common history and have exchanged women in the

174 *688 729 36 241 [175] where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tăka to Kreibŏwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawĕ and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowĕ-tăka, and became known as the Patanowĕ-tedi.

174 *628 721 578 726 602 [624] [583] [591] The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawĕ-tedi and Kashorawĕ-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawĕ, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawĕ-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowĕ-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowĕ-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawĕ-tedi visited Patanowĕ-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowĕ-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawĕ-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawĕ-tedi. Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowĕ-tedi and Yabitawĕ-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

174 726 *628 1722

	Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
32.	Monomi's Da.	Tom	F	0.2	
33.	Nakakami	Sha	F	56	
34.	Niaiyowë	Sha	M	14	
35.	Omonoiwë	Tom	M	28	
36.	Reromawë	Sha	M	53	Headman
37.	Rosa	Sha	F	8	
38.	Ruwisa	Tom	F	7	
39.	Shiborowë	Shamatari	M	35	See p. 214
40.	Tiabõwë	Shamatari	M	5	See p. 214
41.	Tomahewë	Tom	M	21	
42.	Tomasi	Tom	M	6	
43.	Ugushi	Hor	M	22	
44.	Waiimi	Hor	F	21	
45.	Waiyamobemi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance
46.	Waiyamobemi's son	Sha	M	0.5	
47.	Waiyuruma	Shamatari	F	50	Abducted
48.	Wakarabewë	Shamatari	M	16	Son-in-law to #6
49.	YËbËnËma	Kio	F	33	
50.	Yareama	Shamatari	F	2	See p. 214
51.	Yotoma	Tom	F	24	

Comments on particular individuals

1. Ahimi. Her present husband (Bokosiwë) visited the Patanowë-tedi within the past 5 years. Ahimi then lived in Patanowë-tedi and was married to a Sha man there (Makoakuwë), by whom she had already had one daughter (Huimashima). When Bokosiwë returned to Bisaasi-tedi, Ahimi followed him, taking her daughter with her, and became Bokosiwë's wife. As the Patanowë-tedi were technically at war with the Bisaasi-tedi, there was not much they could do to recover the woman. As they also wanted to make peace with Bisaasi-tedi, they did not press the matter.

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115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers [622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village, [156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the [582] villages to which Kąobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kąobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kąobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relation- [622] ships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[583] He does not intend to stay in Kąobawä's group and has not made a garden. He feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing [591] them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an [837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked [593] him with a club. Rerebawä was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother [578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

[829] Despite the fact that he admires Kąobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kąobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours [522] on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yąnomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

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only suggest to a brother of the same age that the task should be done. This is equally true should one of them be the village headman. Kąobawä can ask his youngest brothers to perform many menial tasks during the preparations for a feast, but he cannot ask his mature brothers to help out. Thus, when it is time to clean the weeds from the village plaza to prepare the dance site, Kąobawä himself initiates the work, a form of suggestion that the task must be done. After a while his older, politically important brothers will join him, but only on their own initiative. He could not directly ask them to do this work. On one occasion a young man stole my flashlight and gave it to Shiimima, a younger brother to Kąobawä, but already a mature adult. I asked Kąobawä to help me get it back. After a day or so I asked him if he had gotten my flashlight back from Shiimima, whereupon he replied: "I have spoken to him about it. He will return it if he sees fit. I cannot order him to do so because he is already fierce." Adult brothers of the same age are under considerable pressure to establish their prowess and masculinity and do not permit other men, including their mature brothers, to boss them around. By contrast, Kąobawä could have *commanded* his youngest brother to return the flashlight, since the latter was not yet "fierce," that is, politically significant in village affairs, hence, anxious to display personal autonomy.

Finally, people can trace remote genealogical relationships to others under many circumstances. Kąobawä continuously spoke of the headman of a distant village as his brother. When I questioned him about his usage, he explained that he and the other man have a common patrilineal great-grandfather, that is, he *demonstrated* (see Glossary) his genealogical relationship to the man in question. The other headman gave a similar account.

In small villages the male members of the same lineage are usually on fairly intimate terms with each other. As the village grows in size, however, closeness of genealogical relationship becomes an important measure of the amity between brothers. That is, some men who are related as brothers group together and behave as a political unit. They group together because they are closely related genealogically and have common interests with respect to obtaining wives. If the village is very large, there may be two or more such groups of brothers within the same lineage. The larger lineage begins to segment into smaller factions, resulting in groups of agnates who are on more intimate terms with the members of their own group than they are with their genealogically more distant agnates who, in turn, constitute a different group.

THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP This lineage segmentation was implicit in Generation V of Fig. 3-1 and arose because of the way in which members of lineage X entered into marriage alliances with members of the incorporated lineage W. These groups of brothers—segments—are called local descent groups.[9] Local descent groups have three characteristics. First, membership in them depends on patrilineal descent. Hence, the members all trace relationships to each other through males, and one can only be a member of the group if such a relationship exists. Second, the members of the group live in the same village. If, for example, a young man leaves his village to seek a wife elsewhere, he is no longer a member of the local descent group that includes his brothers and

[9]Leach, 1951. Yąnomamö local descent groups differ slightly from the definition given by Leach; among the Yąnomamö such groups rarely include more than two generations of males, whereas Leach defined them as embracing three generations. Otherwise, Yąnomamö local descent groups closely fit Leach's definition.

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father. He can rejoin them later and again become an active member, but while he lives in a different village he does not participate in the political affairs of that group. Third, the group is *corporate* with respect to the functions of arranging the marriages of the female members. This is the most important single feature of the local descent group: its *function*. The first two characteristics of the group dealt only with the manner in which members can be recruited to the group (birth in the group and coresidence of such kinsmen). In anthropological usage, a corporation is a group of people who share some *estate* and have *rights* and *obligations* with respect to each other and to the estate. There are definite rules for recruiting new members into the corporation. Most studies of primitive corporations have dealt with those societies in which *land* is the estate of the corporation. (See, for example, Fried 1957.) Among the Yąnomamö, land has nothing to do with the functions of the corporate group. Women and rights to dispose of women in marriage constitute the estate of the Yąnomamö corporate groups. Leach is the first anthropologist to draw attention to the analytical importance of this kind of corporation (1961, Chapter 5), although Radcliffe-Brown (1953), in one of the first theoretical discussions of primitive corporations, emphasized the importance of rights over *persons* in some kinds of corporations.

Marriages are arranged by the male members of the local descent group. It cannot be supposed, for example, that the marriage rules automatically dictate the manner in which a woman is disposed in marriage; there are always some negotiations brought about by the situation. For example, a small village may require alliances with larger villages for purposes of defense, and the men of the small village may promise to give daughters to men in the larger village; or there may be a number of men within the village that stand in wife-receiving relationship to the girl, and a decision must be made regarding her ultimate disposition. In some cases a woman's daughters are promised to young men even before they are born. Generally, the girls are near puberty age by the time they are definitely given to a specific male, and they begin cohabiting with the man shortly after the puberty ceremony is over. In some situations a woman must be reassigned to an appropriate mate because her first husband died or abandoned her; or she might run away from a cruel husband and seek refuge among her brothers, bringing about a situation in which they must decide what to do with her.

Women abhor the possibility of being given to men in distant villages, since their fate is much less certain. Men in general are cruel to their wives, and the women rely on the protection of their brothers. A woman who is given to a man in a distant village, therefore, will generally have no brothers to protect her.

A man has considerably more say about the disposition of his daughters when he is young and has immature sons. As the sons grow older, they can overrule the father and insist that the girl be given to a man from some lineage that is likely to reciprocate with a sister. Ideally, women like to be given to men within their natal village. In this fashion the women can remain close to their own kinsmen and rely on the support of their brothers should the husband be particularly cruel. The best arrangement for everyone concerned is for the girl to be given to a man to whom she is related as FaSiDa or MoBrDa in the biological sense. Marriages of this kind exempt the husband from the onerous duty of stringently avoiding his parents-in-law, whereas they at the same time bind the wife-giving and wife-receiving groups more closely together in the system of reciprocities. As Kąobawä stated it, "It is good for groups to exchange women back and

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fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kaobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

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602 other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old
571 enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competi-
602 tion with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their per-
571 sonal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older.
578 They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kąobawä, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

602 The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows
607 more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas
571 agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their
581 fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely
582 promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

602 Kąobawä's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction be-
[601] tween agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowä-teri some time after Kąobawä's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwä, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were
[613] half-brothers. Nadesiwä is in Kąobawä's local descent group, but is not quite on a par
[581] with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the
[582] group—Kąobawä and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwä to give his only daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the
[591] completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwä will
[604] have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kąobawä and Nadesiwä treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

602 The other man, Kumamawä, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kąobawä is related to
607 him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first
[594] cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumamawä is a
[613] frequent visitor in Kąobawä's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kąobawä asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kąobawä's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

361 Kąobawä's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his
342 agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

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Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kąobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yąnomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kąobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kąobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kąobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kąobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kąobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Sharaiawä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kąobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Sharaiawä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Sharaiawä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kąobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with